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FAR EAST COMMAND
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART V

"SAITO Vs ARAKI"

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(3 Aug - 7 Nov 1933)
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~~RESTRICTED~~

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Major, Field Artillery
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R E S T R I C T E D

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 93
(3 August 1933)

Naval Staff v. Navy Ministry

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

Sometime later, I (HARADA) was having lunch with Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU at the Tokyo Club. He said: "I received word from Ambassador NAGAOKA that: 'I would like to take a boat trip to Northern Europe for my health.' I replied: 'If that is the case, why not return to Japan?' He is coming home."

He (SHIGEMITSU) said that Ambassador SATO was taking his (NAGAOKA's) place. Minister SUGIMURA was going as Ambassador to Belgium in Ambassador SATO's place. He also said: "Yada, Minister to Switzerland, will probably become Councillor to Manchukuo. Since there are many persons like TOKUGAWA, ARITA, and SAITO, one cannot very well say that YADA is too young for the post. The Ambassador to the United States will probably come from this group."

Then he (SHIGEMITSU) stated: "There have been various requests from Viscount KANEKO regarding the Examination Board; I positively do not intend to comply with them. FUTAGAMI, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, said to the Foreign Ministry: 'Fix a definite quota of Ambassadors.'"

I (HARADA) replied: "Primarily, the Privy Council's function is to answer requests for advice as the supreme advisory council to the Emperor. It is a great mistake for it to insist on issuing special orders to the Government."

Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU was very much in accord and was indignant about it.

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Then he said: "Regarding the problem of loans to SUNG Tzu-Wen (T.V. SOONG) in China, the loan of the United States in the amount of \$50,000,000 was already made before SUNG Tzu-Wen (T.V. SOONG) left for Europe. Japan has sent in a protest against not being consulted on this matter. There is further necessity for observation to see just how this money is used."

He also stated: "The loans of England and France in Europe cannot be made, due to a previous pact among four nations."

Later on the night of the 4th, TERASHIMA, Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau, came over suddenly. He said: "They are making very outrageous statements at the trial arising out of the May 15th Incident. They are saying for example: 'The present Imperial Household is similar to the House of Romanoff when it disintegrated. Only there is no Rasputin in Japan.'

"They are also saying very outrageous things about MAKINO, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Prince SAIONJI. I cannot understand why the presiding judge listens to such things in silence. The fact is that when Captain TAKASU became presiding judge, he came to seek my opinion. However, I told him: 'This is not a matter in which you should be guided by opinions. There are probably varied opinions among the authorities. If you listen to them, unsatisfactory results may arise. There is no other way but to proceed according to your own beliefs.'

"But OSUMI, Navy Minister, who is an extremely weak person, said: 'If possible, please do not allow them to slander ARAKI.'

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"Recently, Minister OSUMI has had great fear of the rightist group, I think that to some extent he desires matters to be favourable to the rightists. For this reason, he has not told the chief judge to take a severe attitude at such times. It has also been imprinted upon Captain TAKASU's mind that he did not desire action to be too severe. I think that this is indeed a distressing matter.

"For instance, from reading the reports of yesterday's trial in the press, it is evident that they (defendants) have been misled by various falsehoods which they believed to be unaltered truths. Thus aroused, they have tried to create an atmosphere deframatory to Prince SAIONJI, or the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, that is to say, the sterling high officials who are honored with the confidence of the Emperor, as they have testified at the trial; this is extremely bad. Therefore, the Navy Ministry approached the Home Ministry and the Ministry of Justice to say to the press: 'Do not write matters concerning Prince SAIONJI and others.'

They replied: 'Since slander against high officials is a common occurrence, press stories about it are unavoidable.' Both ministries are not taking too serious an attitude."

TERASHIMA, Chief of Naval Affairs Bureau, also stated: "I am leaving as Commander-in-Chief of the Training Squadron on September 1st. As you know, I have been under obligation to the present Minister OSUMI for a very long time and also have been very well acquainted with him. However, I find his recent weak attitude toward everything, distressing.

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"For instance, the senior administrative staff officers (Kokyu Fukukan) are extremely dissatisfied regarding various matters. The reason for this is that His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, has said that he would like to have the relationship between the powers of the Navy Minister and those of the Chief of the Naval General Staff changed to be equivalent to that existing between the War Minister and the Chief of General Staff of the Army. Well, I received a summons from His Imperial Highness.

"I (FUSHIMI) would like to make a request to you today. I am not making this request as the Chief of the Naval General Staff, I, Hiroyasu, am asking you especially as a senior in the Navy and as a colleague. This is a problem of the Naval General Staff and the Navy Ministry. I would like very much to have your approval. It concerns the expansion of the powers of the Chief of the Naval General Staff and is a problem under the 12th Article of the Constitution."

"I replied that the General Staff Headquarters and the Naval General Staff essentially are different. In the Navy, the movement of warships is very frequent in peacetime. There are many ways in which its aim is very different from that in wartime. For instance, there are times when peaceful undertakings like protection of emigrants and commerce are the aim. In general, the Navy Minister handles these matters directly.

"What Prince FUSHIMI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, said today is the result of investigation by Admiral KATO, Kanji, and Viscount KANEKO, who have been interpreting the Constitution in a way that would be

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advantageous to the Naval General Staff. They are trying to press this while the Prince is the Chief of the Naval General Staff. It seems that some agreement has been reached between the Navy Minister, that is Admiral OSUMI, and the Prince. After this, it will be brought up directly to the Emperor. I wanted to check it somehow, but it is extremely difficult to do so."

This was a matter of grave importance. I (HARADA) immediately phoned KIDO to come and had him listen to the story there.

KIDO said: "If the Grand Chamberlain and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal meddle with this matter, I am worried that they might create a problem." I departed saying: "I will think it over."

The next morning I related the details in general to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, having previously been a Navy Minister for a long time, knew the situation and its history very well. The Prime Minister's opinion was: "The matter was decided in the time of Emperor MEIJI. To change it after so long a time is out of the question."

The next day, the sixth, I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place and related the particulars of this matter. Prince SAIONJI replied: "In any event, this should at least reach the ear of the Grand Chamberlain."

Therefore, on the ninth, I went to Hayama to visit the Grand Chamberlain at Chojaen. I told him the particulars. The Grand Chamberlain not only knew that there was such a movement, but also related the matter to me in detail. I parted with the Grand Chamberlain on the understanding that we would think it over.

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At that time, the Grand Chamberlain said repeatedly: "That issue came up once at the time of KATO's (Tomosaburo) Cabinet. Admiral KATO had said: 'As long as I am alive, I will not allow such a thing.'"

Previously, during Admiral SHIMAMURA's time, that issue also came up. It exhibits one of the Naval General Staff's traditional desires. The Staff claims that there is too much interference on the part of the Navy Minister. The matter is somewhat emotional. At any rate, this is a matter which has been pending for many years. From the nature of the matter, I think it best to leave it just as it is. If it (the Naval Staff) is put on the same basis as the General Staff Headquarters, the Navy will be endangered greatly."

This is a matter apart from this problem. On the night of the seventh, KIDO, OKABE, and I (HARADA) invited Prince HIGASHIKUNI to dinner. KIDO was suddenly called away by the Imperial Household Minister. Saying: "I will be a little late," he left; he returned late to our conference. After the conference was over, KIDO said to me: "The reason I was called away by the Imperial Household Minister was that I received an informal Imperial order saying: 'Become the President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry.'"

When KIDO and I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place sometime ago, we were talking about the fact that the Imperial Household Ministry was very worried that there was no successor to be President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry. Prince SAIONJI had said to me: "If the Imperial Household Minister has no other person in mind, why not recommend KIDO?" Therefore, I had

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immediately relayed this to the Imperial Household Minister. He said: "I will think it over," and so the matter stood until today.

As far as KIDO was concerned, he hated very much to go to the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry which has so many problems. Since he was in no position to refuse, I encouraged him, saying: "Accept the position."

They said that the problem of finding a successor to KIDO was quite troublesome. I said: "Why not appoint either Marquis SASAKI or Marquis MATSUDAIRA?" KIDO was in accord with this in general. He phoned KONOYE for consultation. Everyone's opinion seemed to be: "Generally speaking, MATSUDAIRA would probably be the better choice!"

The reason for this was: "Marquis SASAKI is too important a person in the House of Peers. He is too valuable to be Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal." This was also KIDO's opinion.

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Chapter 94
(20 August 1933)

Kempei-Tai Tactics

Translated by Miss Miwa Yanamoto

On the afternoon of the 10th, I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister. He said: "Regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway problem, Russia seems to be giving ground gradually. However, people keep coming to me and saying: 'Please be the mediator between Manchukuo and the Soviet regarding this problem.' I keep refusing, saying: 'I cannot do such a thing. Manchukuo is going along on its own true strength. Since there is no reason for us to give directions either one way or the other, it cannot be done.'"

We parted after he said: "The Foreign Ministry was quite distressed over the incident of the Navy capturing a coast-guard ship of Russia and its crew members, etc., at Karafuto. However, we were finally able to bring this matter to a close somehow. Regarding the problem of the island near the Philippines in which France is interested, Japan has reasonable grounds to bring up the matter. After much deliberation, we intend to send a protest to the French Government."

On the 11th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's place and made a report on various matters. When I went to the Grand Chamberlain's place at Hayama the other day, he said: "Unless the high officials do not get together as soon as possible to decide on the proper interpretation of the powers of the Supreme Command, matters will constantly be in a turmoil. We cannot escape entanglements. I would like to have a lucid interpretation made

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somehow." I reported this to Prince SAIONJI. He said: "Please make an investigation of the history of the powers of the Supreme Command and of the interpretation of the powers."

I returned that same day to Tokyo. On the 13th, I called on TANI as he was leaving for Manchukuo on the 14th. By chance, HATA, Chief of the Military Police, came over. While we were conversing, I said: "Since rumours are so prevalent recently, the nature of matters is conveyed falsely. It is very distressing that an uneasy atmosphere prevails. For instance, there are many confused rumours about myself, or, if not about me, about others, the true nature of which I usually know."

"For Example, it is said that there is a Juhachinichikai (18th Day Society); that together with KONOYE, KIDO, OKABE, or SUZUKI of the Army, and SHIRATORI, we are trying to create a Cabinet with Prince HIGASHIKUNI as the figure head. By chance, we did invite the Prince to the home of Marquis INOUE, had dinner, and told him many things. Even we do not remember whether that was the 18th or what day it was. On top of that, those of us who were gathered at that place agree unanimously that members of the Imperial family should not act thoughtlessly; also, that it is undesirable for them to take a position as Prime Minister or any official position."

"One can tell how wild rumours flourish by looking at this one example in which the Kempei-Tai just seized on the fact that we assembled and started such a rumour."

The manner of speaking of the Chief of the Kempei-Tai was as if to say: "World affairs go from one mis-

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understanding to another. The effort of human beings to try and solve this problem is a strange story. The cause of the European War also was misunderstanding. It is rather futile to try to solve a misunderstanding or to try to carry things out so there will be no misunderstanding."

After that, I just said: "There is a need for those who are in different jobs to become well acquainted during normal periods when nothing is happening. They can tackle matters cooperatively when something does happen." To this, his reply was: "You are right."

MATSUI, Commander-in-Chief of the Formosan Army, was leaving for his new post in Formosa. TANI, Chief HATA, and myself got into the car together to go to the Tokyo Station to see him off. In the car, TANI and Chief HATA were conversing. In their conversation, Chief HATA kept saying to TANI: "Please return without fail what I lent you the other day under seal. That is very essential. It is something that will surely remain in future years as invaluable material for history." TANI's reply was: "That is certainly true."

From what I could conjecture, I thought it was a record which the Chief of Military Police had made of his own personal views. I listened with special attention. I thought that useless material for history would remain which judged different facts and was a practically superficial observation with strange fabrications having almost a hundred evils. I do not know when it will come to light in the world. I feared that it might become material to mislead future historians. When we parted the Chief said: "I would like to meet

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you at leisure somewhere, sometime." I replied, "Let us get together."

On the morning of the 14th I sent off TANI from Tokyo Station, took Prince HIGASHIKUNI to Ueno, and came home.

On the night of the 12th, SAKATANI came to my place after the dinner party of the War Minister. After conversing in leisurely fashion for about two hours, he returned that night to Manchukuo.

On the morning of the 16th I went to the Prime Minister's place. I told him that for the past two days HATOYAMA had been going to TAKAHASHI's place and to Chairman SUZUKI's place, and was exerting himself intensely. In his conversation with them he (HATOYAMA) said: "The agreement on national policy is the main thing. The matter of the Ministry of State is secondary. From the beginning, I have spoken of an agreement on political affairs. The Prime Minister must have heard wrong if he thinks that I said that the Ministry of State came first." He also told the newspapers: "I went to TAKAHASHI's place. TAKAHASHI understands the situation very well. The first story is entirely a misunderstanding on the part of the Prime Minister."

I asked the Prime Minister about this. He said: "HATOYAMA just said something which was entirely made up." He didn't even get angry, but laughed about it.

He said: "I intend to meet TAKAHASHI before long." He also stated: "When HATOYAMA first talked about the Minister of State, he did say: 'Since MAEDA, Yonezo is the Chairman of the Political Affairs

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Deliberation Committee, please see MAEDA.' Although this is true, he still did not bring up the agreement on political affairs as the primary matter."

Likewise, President SUZUKI and his friends have given some rather haphazard and illogical opinions to the press, stating: "If it is a matter of agreement on political affairs -- but to enter the Cabinet now as a Minister of State is out of the question." Or: "No matter how deep or how shallow my personal relationship is with HATOYAMA, I am not one to listen to whatever HATOYAMA says."

At any rate, on this occasion HATOYAMA is doing his utmost. It is his chief aim to get President SUZUKI to attach himself to this Cabinet thinking it to be advantageous. He is trying earnestly to pull SUZUKI.

The Prime Minister stated as follows and had a firm attitude: "Ranging from this matter to the agreement on political affairs, no matter what is said, it is something which cannot be done. First of all, there is a necessity to proceed after uniting openly and politically. The problem of political affairs should be left to the Government. Needless to say, there can be no agreement on political affairs."

Later I met the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He said: "Something like a national policy deliberation council may be set up."

I cautioned the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, saying: "Previously when the Foreign Policy Deliberation Committee was established, the Government had a great deal of trouble. We can see that the Privy Council desires an entry. For example, KANEKO, Kentaro visited

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HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, yesterday, and encouraged HATOYAMA. Also, their movement to have the Foreign Ministry create a deliberation board and then to go in as advisers is, from all appearances, a desire to interfere. Especially, someone like Viscount KANEKO wants to interfere whether it is a matter of foreign policy or national affairs. If something like a national policy deliberation committee were formed, it would be a disadvantage to the Government and would only be inviting complications for the nation. It is well understood that it would never do from the standpoint of the application of national administration. You must be very cautious on this matter."

Sometime later, I met the War Minister. I heard from him about the situation which the Education Minister claimed to exist between himself and the Premier. The War Minister was not looking forward to it (SUZUKI's entry into the Cabinet) too happily. He said: "It is all right, if he joins as Minister of State with the intention of truly serving the nation without reserve. However, with matters as they have been recently, I doubt his motive very much and wonder whether it is good."

I told the War Minister about my meeting the Chief of the Military Police and what he had said at that time about wanting to go and talk to Prince SAIONJI as his official duty immediately before he reveals the facts he has assembled; also about other statements he had made.

I told the War Minister: "In any event, I told him that I could not convey his wish without the consent

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of the War Minister. Therefore, will you please first investigate and call on the Prince yourself or else call me if, by any chance, there is a matter about which the Chief of the Military Police wants to meet with Prince SAIONJI? Having listened to the stories of the Chief of the Military Police, I think it would be rather boring to see the Chief of the Military Police too often. I do not intend to see him."

The War Minister then said: "Looking at the recent corruption in the election of self-governing bodies in the prefectures and especially that of municipal assemblymen, not only the Seiyukai, but practically all of the present political parties are in a state of slumber; corruption even more outrageous than before is being carried out during this interval. Such a state of affairs is extremely distressing. Up to now there were leaders like INOUE, Nissho, GONDO, Seikyo and others. A motley assembly of persons was united under these right-wing leaders. Therefore, their existence was obvious. Now these leaders have been captured, and there is no trace left of this group. For this reason, although somewhere, some kind of movement seems to prevail, an uneasy atmosphere abounds because there is no way of getting hold of it. The reports made in behalf of the Chief of the Military Police are the result of it." Apparently, the War Minister believed these reports which were made through insincere motives.

The next day I visited the Navy Ministry. I met the Navy Minister and conversed about many matters. I said: "The young officers -- those who are practically

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inexperienced in the ways of the world, have been aroused actively by articles in magazines, newspapers, or pamphlets which were fabricated by people with insincere motives. As a result, they have even come to think that it is not right for political parties to exist. It may be a defect in their education that they cannot fully judge and evaluate for themselves what they read and see. At the same time, there may be authorities who deliberately welcome such a development. Such improper cognizance should first be corrected. There is a great necessity to endeavor so that such circumstances do not develop. To take an attitude to make society think that rightful existence is not right and to withdraw like cowards is an extremely distasteful phenomenon. I think that, as Minister, you should first of all take heed of such a matter."

Minister OSUMI replied: "Your statement is certainly true. We ourselves are working in many ways with that in mind. It has been distressing that the matter has been rather difficult to handle."

On the morning of the 17th I went to Prince SAIONJI's place. I made a general report on many matters. Prince SAIONJI said laughingly: "I am afraid that HATOYAMA is not an homme d'etat but a politician."

He also said: "He talks about national policy and an agreement on details, but that is an impossible story. In the first place, the national policy of Japan has been decided since the time of the Meiji Restoration, beginning with the Imperial Covenant consisting of Five Articles and following with the Imperial Edicts. It is especially clear in the Imperial Edict which was

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promulgated recently."

Then he stated: "After all, Prime Minister SAITO stands above his contemporaries, and is one cut above TAKAHASHI or YAMAMOTO." There was nothing of importance in particular. I returned home from Gotemba.

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Chapter 95
(29 August 1933)

The "May 15th" Incident

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 20th I (HARADA) visited Finance Minister TAKAHASHI at Hayama. I listened to the various ideas of TAKAHASHI. He said: "Of course, anything like the national policy deliberation committee in question is bad."

He also stated: "The Navy has submitted an extremely huge budget. Something must be done about it. In any event, it is indeed an unpleasant phenomenon for each ministry to think only of itself and try to grab as much as possible from the budget. Something must be done about the others also."

"Today, at the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, they were discussing a low-interest loan and suggesting various investigations. I think that there is too much investigation for the sake of investigation itself. First, since there is a surplus of rice at present, would it not be better to give the rice to the northeastern (Tohoku) provinces where they are suffering from a failure of crops, just as rice was dealt out long ago during the Tokugawa Shogunate? Even if a low-interest loan were made, it isn't as if the interest could be collected, nor could they use it for something concrete. Since there are people who cannot even eat rice, would it not be more quickly effective to give in kind rather than in money?"

On the 21st, I met the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. I told him: "If a deliberating organ like

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the Foreign Policy Deliberation Committee were established, it would be an opportunity for many persons to exploit it. It would, therefore, be better not to have one."

Then I talked about various matters with Foreign Minister UCHIDA. He said: "I am afraid that lately I don't know what's what. I am getting hard of hearing. I am wondering if I can participate in the next Diet." It seemed as if he were somewhat dissatisfied and wanted to resign. He said: "In any event, I think I would like to go to Prince SAIONJI's place soon."

On the way home, I called on the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU said: "The Prime Minister is unpardonable. Viscount KANEKO went and spoke ill of the Foreign Minister. He neither defended him nor refuted the statements. Rather, I hear that he said: 'It is about time we made him resign.' It is indeed an outrageous story." Come to think of it, some of it had apparently reached his ears and hurt the Foreign Minister's feelings.

I later met the Prime Minister and asked him many things. He said: "To be sure, Viscount KANEKO did speak maliciously about the Foreign Ministry and criticized the Foreign Minister. However, even if I had said anything, it wouldn't have done any good. But not once did I express concurrence. There must be some misinformation."

I myself thought that this was so. It must be from propaganda to someone's advantage that Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU got his story. It was extremely regrettable, to say the least, that it had made the Foreign Minister unhappy. I explained the situation

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fully to Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU.

On the evening of the 22nd, I had a letter from Prince KONOYE saying that he would show me and KIDO the opinion on the political situation which he had written.

The next day I went again to Gotemba and met Prince SAIONJI. I told him the substance of the meeting with President SUZUKI that I had heard from the Prime Minister, especially that President SUZUKI himself had said: "We must work for a clean-up of the political parties. There is no other way but for the political parties to do this themselves."

In reply to this, the Prime Minister had said: "If you have such an idea, it is truly to be applauded. You must take the lead in the matter." They chatted about many things. It was also President SUZUKI's opinion that: "Secrecy is necessary in foreign relations. The way things have been coming out in the press recently is unsatisfactory. We should all be careful, and only discuss matters among ourselves, the leading men."

The Prime Minister said: "We parted saying: 'That is certainly true; let us do it that way.'" However, the different newspapers -- some of the more outrageous ones write in question and answer form -- deliberately wrote up a conversation which had not even taken place, such as that the Government had no policy and only with the national policy of the Seiyukai could the plans of the Government be carried out. Seeing this, there were many military men and others who were indignant, saying: "Prime Minister SAITO's dialogue

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with SUZUKI is inexcusable." The write-ups of the newspapers with some ulterior motive had hit their mark.

Prince SAIONJI said: "The newspapers write frequently that MAKINO is going to resign. Surely such a thing is not true?" I replied: "Of course not."

Prince SAIONJI did not think it advisable for Prince KONOYE to make public his opinion at this time. Looking at it from his position as President of the House of Peers, and in a larger sense, in case he should assume an even more important position in the future, he would be restricted by his own admissions. Not only that, it was also inadvisable in the present situation.

Since I had Prince SAIONJI's consent, I immediately wrote a letter of caution (to KONOYE). The reply was: "Naturally, I (KONOYE) am only showing it to KIDO and you, and will never make it public to the world." I relayed this to Prince SAIONJI at once.

On the 23rd, I returned to Tokyo. On the 5th, I went to Yokohama to attend the Naval Review. I went aboard the warship, Chokai, to see the Naval Review. On board the warship, I met reserve vice-admirals and many others. Among them were many who had gone to see the trial of the May 15th accused and who were quite impressed. Especially were there many who believed the defendants' very severe attacks upon Prince SAIONJI and MAKINO, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, in which they had related as facts things which had never happened.

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One vice-admiral said: "Prince SAIONJI did not even go once to make an inquiry during the illness of Emperor TAISHO. It is really insolent for an elder statesman. Even though he came out to Surugadai he did not go." Citing such a fact, he was indignant. The others said: "We certainly agree with you," and were also indignant as if it were really true.

I explained to them: "That is entirely false. Actually, on the day of the big fire in Numazu in October (October 1926) he went from Okitsu to Hayama to make an inquiry. On the way back, he was granted an audience with the Empress Dowager -- the Empress at that time -- and talked with her for a long time on various matters. He returned to Shizuoka about 1 o'clock. En route Prince SAIONJI said: "From the symptoms of the Emperor, I am afraid his state of health is not too good. The doctors and court physicians are very worried. In view of his condition I feel that I must move as soon as possible so that I can inquire about him from time to time. At the same time, I must be near him so I can be of service if anything happens.' With this in mind, he said: 'Please find me a house somewhere in the neighborhood.'

"Since Baron SHIDEHARA had a resort home at Kotsubo, Zushi, it was decided that he would rent that. From the beginning of October until his (the Emperor's) death, he called upon him from time or I went to inquire about his condition and kept in touch with high court officials close to the Emperor. Of course, at the time of his death, he was at the Emperor's resort home long before

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and received a final audience. He remained at Kotsubo until the Accession Ceremony was completed, the Audience Ceremony was conducted in Tokyo, and all was finished. He returned to Okitsu after that."

When they heard this, they said: "Is that so? We knew nothing about that." This matter was in the newspapers at that time. Quite a number of people should know about it. When the story is told like this, they could easily see that, of course, the other was a fabrication.

On August 26, I met the Prime Minister and later MATSUDAIRA, Keimin. I asked them to give aid to KIDO who had become President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry, told them the circumstances, and departed.

Then I went to the Foreign Ministry. I talked with KUWASHIMA, Bureau Chief, about T. V. SOONG, who had not landed (in Japan) and the uncertainty of: "What will happen after T. V. SOONG returns?" I left after we had also discussed: "In what way could China's relations with Japan be measured by the revision of the tariff rates?"

On the morning of the 28th I went from Hakone to Prince SAIONJI's place. We talked about many matters. Regarding the talk of Prince FUSHIMI for Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, there was a letter from TAKUNO, Tadao. He wrote about the time when Prince FUSHIMI, Teiai, the father of the present Chief of the Naval General Staff, had been Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Prince SAIONJI said: "At that time, Emperor TAISHO was ill. Even though he (Prince FUSHIMI) was Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the circumstances were entirely

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different. It was different from the present, when the Emperor can supervise the political situation very well for himself. In the first place, to place a member of the Imperial family in a responsible position invites many abuses, and is unsatisfactory." Thus, Prince SAIONJI reiterated his stock argument which he has maintained consistently.

He said: "Looking at today's Hochi, they write that the Foreign Minister is going to resign." In reply to this, I stated that in my previous meeting with the Foreign Minister I had a feeling that he might resign.

I told him that T. V. SOONG had not landed (in Japan). He stated: "I just remembered, but long ago there was talk that LI HUNG-CHANG would attend the Coronation in Russia and stop in Japan on his way home. (TN: Prince SAIONJI has a note in the margin: - I think that it was on the way out and not on the return.) The newspapers and others wrote that there were people who said that if LI HUNG-CHANG does come, we should receive him warmly; but that on the other hand, there were those who said we should beat him up if he comes. Arguments were clamorous and certainly noisy. I asked Prince ITO: 'Do you think that LI HUNG-CHANG will stop by?' He replied: 'With people in such an uproar, I would not feel like stopping in if I were LI HUNG-CHANG. I certainly would not stop by.' I think that the situation today is just like the other time."

Prince SAIONJI was grieved over the present attitude of the press which was childish, saying: "The press is much too ignorant of the problems of international re-

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lations and such matters. Instead of writing so noisily beforehand about whether he will land or not, it would be better if they just left it alone. The attitude of leaving alone whether he will land or not is the suitable one."

I relayed to him the message that KIDO had become President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry and would come to call on him soon.

He stated: "KIDO must continue in his present post as Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and hold an additional post."

He said: "In such important times as these, it would be unsatisfactory to use an irresponsible person. His holding an additional post will be better." I, therefore, told Prince SAIONJI: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seems to have that intention also." That afternoon I returned to Tokyo.

In the evening, I phoned the Imperial Household Minister; I talked with him about many things for the first time in a long while at his official residence. The Imperial Household Minister stated: "On board a warship during the Naval Review not long ago, I spoke with Vice-Admiral TAKAHASHI, Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff about various matters. I told him: 'Many in the intelligent section of the public are making the following criticism of the May 15th Incident trial:

"It seems as if the military higher-ups are supporting everything that the young officers are testifying at the public trial. Even though the young men may have acted rashly upon sincere motives, they did

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not ascertain the true facts of the matter. However, they were not asked where they had heard these facts or how such ideas originated. Neither were they told that to believe matters without verification and to act rashly was wrong. They were allowed to testify as much as they could as if it were for publicity. The criticism is that that is no way to hold a public trial.'

"He (TAKAHASHI) said: 'That is very distressing. I wonder if the Navy Minister is aware of these criticisms. I shall talk to the Navy Minister about them.' We talked about many things. TAKAHASHI is a man who can comprehend relatively well."

He (Imperial Household Minister) also stated: "The Chief Aide-de-Camp hinted: 'The Emperor is not too enthusiastic about military affairs,' and seemed quite dissatisfied. The reason for this was that the Office of Aide-de-Camp was very enthusiastic over the talk that a memorial building for those who fell during the Manchurian campaign would be built within the Imperial Palace just like the previous Memorial Halls. However, the Emperor had decided that the structure should not be large. There were a great many complaints on this score. The Chief Aide-de-Camp heard about this, and said: 'He is not too enthusiastic about military affairs.'

"However, he seemed to understand very well when I (Imperial Household Minister) explained to him: 'Properly speaking, the Emperor is concerned with both civil and military affairs which are like the two wheels of a vehicle. He must stand above civil and military affairs and take care of all matters. There may be instances when he cannot fulfill the desires of the military; on the

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other hand, he may not be able to grant satisfaction to all the requests of civil officials. For instance, he was absent from the Grand Maneuvers at Osaka not long ago due to a cold. The day of the Military Review happened to be just two days after he had finally recovered. Although there was a violent storm, the Emperor unconcernedly exposed his convalescent self to the wind and rain and reviewed the troops. The civil officials were very displeased, saying: 'The unreasonableness of the military is too extreme. What if some harm had come to him because of that?'

"The Emperor has been conducting research on microscopic organisms, and has gone out to sea every day by boat. The Chief Aide-de-Camp also accompanies him every day. He seems to have gradually understood how beneficial it was for the Emperor's health. However, there were those who said: 'For the Emperor to make such research on microscopic organisms -- it would be better if he made a deeper study of his duties as a sovereign. It is disgraceful.' Therefore, I (Imperial Household Minister) explained: 'It is indeed a splendid hobby. Since he is constantly hard-pressed by political affairs, he must relax sometimes; it was for this reason that he began his research on microscopic organisms, and it is most suitable. The recent matter of tides came up in connection with his collecting microscopic organisms. He thought: 'Are there not some discrepancies in what has been published by the Naval Hydrographic Bureau? He asked the Navy Minister many questions. The Navy Minister knew nothing about it and was overwhelmed. In this way,

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there are different by-products of his research. The Chief Aide-deCamp is beginning to feel: 'This is an excellent hobby for the Emperor.'

He also stated: "When the recent rumours first came out in the press, the Imperial Household Ministry warned the young members of the Police Bureau regarding the dissemination of misrepresentations. They said: 'It's not worth warning us about,' and took the matter very lightly. This attitude is very bad. It is the things which are taken lightly and seem unimportant that reach the ears of the uninformed masses. No matter how trifling, matters should be cautioned about and supervised when they first come up. At the same time, the people must be brought closer together."

I returned home after spending about an hour talking about various matters. The Imperial Household Minister seemed very worried about many things.

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Chapter 96
(9 September 1933)

Hirohito v. Kaneko

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 29th, I (HARADA) met the Prime Minister. He said: "I met ADACHI, President of the Kokumin Domei, at Hassenden at Yokohama. ADACHI said: 'It is indeed difficult to get along with the existing political parties.' He also said: 'I think that the objective of a united front is splendid, but its realization is very difficult. I wonder especially about going along with the existing political parties.' However, I did not think it was a matter in which I should insist: 'Please do so.'"

The Prime Minister's attitude seemed to be that if they want to follow and come along, let them come; if they do not come, that is just as well.

He also stated: "The Chairman of the Seiyukai left with me five articles called the 'National Policy of the Seiyukai.' The first deals with the establishment of the foreign policy course and complete organization of national defenses; the second with the Japan-Manchukuo problem; the third with economics and industry; the fourth with reorganization of administration; and the fifth with finance. I have not studied them closely yet. We will probably just use them for reference."

I then met the Minister of Justice. He said: "There are over seventy members in the Shinpei-tai. Of these, I intend to prosecute about thirty-five men for attempted murder."

On September 2, I visited the Prime Minister again. He stated: "There is a great fuss over the problem of the

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price of rice. I have told the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry that he must do something about it soon. There is much talk about a national policy deliberation organ. Although publicity about previous deliberation committees and other such committees of the Government has been prompt, the details are not ready. If we are going to set up such a committee this time, I would like to do it after the details have been settled."

Then I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "If T.V. SOONG returns to his country and meets HUANG FU; WANG CHAO-MING; KAI-SHEK, and these four agree, matters may turn for the better."

On the 5th, I went with KIDO to Prince SAIONJI's place and made a general report. I told him about my meeting with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. KIDO also told him that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had no intention of resigning immediately.

In KIDO's report, he stated to Prince SAIONJI:

"Viscount KANEKO made a report to the Emperor on various matters concerning Emperor MEIJI's Chronicle which has must been completed. Until the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars finally occurred, Emperor MEIJI was not too much in favor of starting a war. He had a strong desire to solve the matter peaceably. Regarding this matter, Viscount KANEKO stated to the Emperor his opinion of omitting this, saying: 'It is desirable to include such a matter in this Chronicle. Why not leave it out until another time....'

"Sometime later, the Emperor called the Grand Chamberlain, and expressed his desire: 'Viscount KANEKO came and said thus and thus. What Viscount KANEKO is

trying to omit is that Emperor MEIJI did not desire a war. However, Emperor MEIJI's spirit of love of peace appears in his hopes for peaceful solutions. I think that it is this which should be passed on to future generations. It would be good to write this in, especially in the Chronicle. What do you think?' The Grand Chamberlain relayed this to the Imperial Household Minister."

Prince SAIONJI kept saying that in view of KONOYE's present position, he (KONOYE) must be prudent. He also stated his desire that he be cautious. During the conversation, Prince SAIONJI smilingly said: "Long ago, when Prince ITO used to comment on the people of (Satsuma), he would always get very angry if you spoke ill of anyone by comparing him with people of other regions. For instance, he would get very angry if you said 'OKUBO (Satsuma) is impossible compared with KIDO (Choshu).' However, he wouldn't get too angry if you said: 'OKUBO (Satsuma) is more of a fool than SAIGO, (Satsuma).'"

Then he (SAIONJI) said: "In connection with Marquis MATSUKATA's having resigned his title, he is trying at present to be reinstated as a marquis; he would even be satisfied to be count or viscount. This is a very strange story. He seems to regard the relationship of the feudal lord (daimyo) of old to his subjects and that of the Emperor to his subjects as the same. He has confused the honors bestowed by the Emperor by virtue of his sovereign power with the action of the old feudal lords (daimyo) in placing a subject in a certain position and then changing him to a lower one because it was too high or to a higher one because it was too low. Honors once bestowed by sovereign power are entirely different from those granted

by feudal lords (daimyo). This is not a matter in which he has any right to say count or viscount. It is distressing that he cannot understand such points." KIDO and I returned to Tokyo, passing through Hakone.

In the morning of the 6th, I went to the Foreign Ministry and met SHIGEMITSU. He was lamenting, saying "There are too many annoying people. For example, a Trade Deliberation Council was established. Members of the House of Peers like INAHATA, Katsutaro, and others, were included as members. They were not chosen because they were members of the House of Peers, but like INAHATA, for example, because he was President of the Chamber of Commerce. The Seiyukai comes frequently and says: 'It is outrageous that a member of the House of Representatives is not included.' However, that (membership) is entirely beside the point.

"Also, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau of the Army came over and said: 'The Manchurian Incident has ended; we have withdrawn from the League of Nations; and the budget is more or less settled. Speaking from the standpoint of national defense, matters are generally determined for the time being. The next matter coming up is foreign policy. It would be unfavorable for the Empire's position if England and the United States came at us together. Therefore, I would like to pull England to our side at any cost.' Since nothing could be accomplished by just talking to the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, I (SHIGEMITSU) met the War Minister and talked to him on various matters. The War Minister also said: 'Foreign policy is the source of much anxiety...' Therefore, I said: 'Undesirable results will follow if

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matters of international relations are publicized from now on. Please be careful. You cannot be in favor with England alone and fight with America. You must assume that if you do, England and America will always get together and come at us. At present, the Foreign Ministry is taking great pains to guide this international problem peacefully. It would be very distressing if the Army tried to stir up matters.

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Chapter 97
(15 September 1933)

Praise for the Procurator

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

OKAZAKI spoke on many matters. He said: "Unless something is done about the people responsible for the London Naval Treaty, the general atmosphere will not settle down. That is to say, Admiral TAKARABE, who was a plenipotentiary delegate at that time, must retire; MIKATSUKI also a plenipotentiary delegate, must resign his position."

He (OKAZAKI) also told me something which I think he heard through TOKONAMI. It probably came from those who urge a revision of the Army, for instance, General HAYASHI or General MIYAMOTO, who are both against ARAKI: "Recently ARAKI has been suffering from a nervous breakdown, and is quite run down. The reason for this is that the young officers huddle the fence and wake the Minister up in the middle of the night and ask: 'What happened to the promises you made before you assumed your post as Minister?' There are so many who are closing in upon him like this that he is weak from lack of sleep."

He also said: "The reason HATOYAMA began to move is that ARAKI upbraided him severely. Thinking that political power would not be coming to the political parties for quite a long time, he began to move." It seemed to me that much of OKAZAKI's story was propaganda in behalf of Lt. General ARAKI.

Sometime later, I met the Minister of Justice and asked him various questions. He said: "According to the Navy's prosecution of the 11th, they intend to demand the death penalty for MIKUNI and KUROKAWA. There will

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probably be many life sentences for the others." He also stated: "Since the same procurator is going to try both INOUE, Nissho and OKAWA, Shumei, and since OKAWA will be first, Nissho's trial may be delayed until next year."

Then I told him what I had heard from OKAZAKI, Kunisuke, regarding the recent criticism of the War Minister. He replied: "Letters come from everywhere to the War Minister. The Shimpei-tai Incident was no joke. Quite a number of people gathered. In the Osaka region,, a concrete plan had been made. For instance, saying they were going to pray at the Meiji Shrine, several hundred people were to have gathered. While the police were distracted by this and watching this, they were going to attack other places. Thus it seems that the part each person was to play had been decided.

"It is being said at the preliminary hearing that they (defendants) heard the following: Someone asked: 'Are we going to assassinate the War Minister, too?' SUZUKI, Zenichi's reply was: 'Of course, we are going to kill him. It was due to ARAKI that we couldn't do as we pleased with the Manchurian problem.' Then someone asked: 'Who is going to be made ARAKI's successor?' The reply was: 'General HIYASHI will be made War Minister.' Others asked: 'Then who will be Prime Minister?' The reply: 'The leader will, naturally, be an Imperial Prince. He will be either Prince CHICHIBU or Prince HIGASHIKUNI.'

"This is a different story, but the War Minister and HATOYAMA met three times. The War Minister told HATOYAMA: 'The Seiyukai is finished.' Therefore, he (HATOYAMA) finally decided on the Ministry of State without portfolio.

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The Navy at present is very calm, but the Kenpei-tai incessantly spreads the word that: 'The Navy will start something.'" (The above took place on September 9.)

Prince SAIONJI was returning to Okitsu from Gotemba on the 11th. I left Shimbashi by train at 6 A.M. and reached Gotemba at 9 A.M. Prince SAIONJI was at the station, and he immediately got on that train. I returned after seeing him off at Okitsu. I made a general report to Prince SAIONJI of what I had heard up to then.

When I returned, the Navy procurator's prosecution and his demand for penalties of that day were made public. The substance of the argument was fair and square. It was practically what the intelligent section of the public had hoped would be said. The argument was exhaustive, and unlike the Army's, it came out and demanded the penalties. It must be due to the fact that the Navy was the criminal and the Army was the accessory. In his argument, he (procurator) said: "The national constitution is life, and the national laws are the threads of life." He placed high esteem in the national constitution and national laws, and stated that military discipline should not be violated.

Prince SAIONJI had often said: "There are many people who frequently try to make judgments according to their emotions, saying they cannot tolerate something from a sentimental angle. However, because certain things cannot be tolerated due to sentiment, there are laws and regulations. Public order has to be maintained so that there will be no error. If everything were left to emotion, there is no telling what would happen."

The procurator expounded a similar viewpoint very

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well. Previously at the Diet, War Minister ARAKI had often taken an attitude that seemed to defend the idea that if the motive were sincere, it did not matter what the results were. However, the procurator stated: "Even if the motive were sincere, if the results violated the law, the illegality, no matter what the motive, would still remain. You cannot say that because the motive was sincere, an act is not illegal if the results violate the law."

In the Imperial Mandate from the Emperor to the military, there are words to the effect that they should not be misled by public opinion nor meddle with politics. HATA, Chief of the Military Police, has interpreted this to mean that the Army may do as it pleases according to its beliefs without concerning itself with politics, not being misled by public opinion, nor being restricted by political affairs. The procurator has disputed this severely, saying: "Military personnel should not be misled by public opinion nor should they interfere with politics." Explaining various developments since the Restoration, he expounded the reason for this Imperial Mandate. It is very easy to see the great difference of opinion that exists between the Army and the Navy in ordinary times.

Since this argument became known, the intelligent public has had great respect for the very earnest attitude of that procurator. He is very popular. The editorials of each newspaper the next day were all full of praise and spoke highly of the open mind of the procurator. Although the Tokyo Nichinichi is a newspaper which usually writes quite unreasonable and seditious articles, it

Praise for the Prosecutor

praised the argument of the prosecution to the extent of saying: "It should be made into a textbook."

About the 13th or 14th, the officers of the Navy, that is those who would be classmates, (of the defendants of the Shinpei-tai Incident) gathered in Yokosuka and passed a resolution. Sympathizing with the defendants who were their classmates, they complained of the errors of the prosecution---what they believed to be errors---and brought this to the attention of the Commander-in-Chief of the Yokosuka Naval Station. The Commander-in-Chief relayed this to the Navy Minister. Both the Minister and the Commander-in-Chief thought well of their sympathetic attitude. The newspapers were making a big fuss, but I do not think it is serious.

Within the past week or two, the War Minister has visited the Finance Minister, the Prime Minister, and Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO. He has gone around urging that the various national policies be carried out constructively. The press has written this up critically, but its substance is not very difficult. Probably the young officers of the Army made too many remarks. I think that he has an earnest desire to make his position clear. Anyway, it is a fact that the concrete and constructive argument of the War Minister did move the feelings of his Cabinet colleagues with a good deal of force. I think that it had a big effect in making matters progress.

In the forenoon of the 14th, the Prime Minister suddenly said: "Please come," so I went. He stated: "Previously the Foreign Minister has said only to me; 'Since I am getting hard of hearing and I feel that I

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cannot move my limbs as easily as before, I would like to resign.' It was an earnest request, but up to now I have dissuaded him. Now he says: 'I feel I must resign.' I intended to go to Hayama today to make an informal report to the Emperor. At the recommendation of Foreign Minister UCHIDA, the successor is going to be HIROTA, former Ambassador to Russia. I urged HIROTA and finally secured his consent, and I am going to make an informal report to the Emperor now. First, will you tell Prince SAIONJI by phone or in some other way?" I immediately phoned Okitsu and relayed the message to that effect.

Since the public is very much in favor of HIROTA as Foreign Minister, the Foreign Ministry is quite calm. They say: "We have no objection to HIROTA."

SHIGEMITSU said: "Please come in the afternoon," so I went to the Foreign Ministry. He said: "The fact is, I wanted to tell you yesterday when I heard about this from the Minister, but I couldn't meet with you yesterday so...." According to SHIGEMITSU, "HIROTA said: 'I am going to assume the post of Minister, but please remain as Vice-Minister.' Since he has asked me, I intend to help him gladly. In any event, he is comparatively young and much is expected of him. The tenor of the press is very favorable."

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Chapter 98
(25 September 1933)

Yokosuka Rumblings

Translated by Miss Kiwako Yamamoto

In the morning of the 15th, I (HARADA) went to the general meeting of the Kosei-kai. Baron IWAKURA got up and emphatically stated: "It is rumored that the so-called alumni associations at Yokosuka will gradually start movements against the court decisions and may give rise to an uneasy atmosphere. If such a thing does happen, it will indeed be a disgraceful story. I have a better understanding of the nature of the Navy's alumni associations than anyone else. However, it is truly shameful if Navy personnel complain about the decisions of a public trial or carry out various public movements (in behalf of the convicted officers). I think that on this occasion it would be proper if we, as the House of Peers, cautioned the Navy Minister. At present, the political parties have declined and are not active. That is to say, the political parties have no power. In such times as these, I think that the House of Peers should take a strictly neutral attitude. We must admonish the military in matters on which it may properly be admonished. Unless this were so, there would be no meaning to the existence of the House of Peers. Also, the prosecution of Procurator YAMAMOTO is extremely reasonable. There is no defect in it."

Baron KIKUCHI and Baron INOUE took a defensive position against Baron IWAKURA, due to their sympathy with the Navy and their extreme opposition to anyone

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outside of the military circle. Their contention was that there was no way of knowing what sort of incident might occur if the Kosei-kai did anything like admonishing the Navy concerning the movements at Yokosuka.

That morning I had met the Vice-Minister of the Navy at the Navy Ministry; also the Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau. I had asked them about the situation. I was told: "It is not as drastic a movement as is reported in the newspapers or among the public. As for Commander-in-Chief NOMURA, the matter is his responsibility and he is acting so there will be no breach of discipline. There are five or six men who are especially vehement in their arguments. However, other than these, the members of the so-called alumni associations are very reasonable. There are no special activities for a mitigation movement, etc. They have just discussed among themselves their complaints against the failure of the Procurator to take cognizance of the standpoint of the defendants. There doesn't seem to be any large movement with an organizational set-up."

During the meeting, I called Baron IWAKURA aside and told him: "There seems to be quite a discrepancy between newspaper accounts and rumors and the true facts. To make sure, have someone go as an individual to the Minister's place and inquire. I think it would be better not to make it a severe cross-examination. If the situation is still something to worry about after the inquiry, it might be all right for the House of Peers to caution him. However, it would be better not to say anything to stir up matters at this point."

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Again Baron IWAKURA rose and said that his attitude had softened. The feeling then quieted down somewhat. The meeting ended with the decision that they would first have a friendly meeting with the Navy Minister.

I departed in the afternoon of the 15th and went to Okitsu. I made a general report to Prince SAIONJI on the morning of the 16th. Prince SAIONJI also was very happy, saying: "The prosecution of Procurator YAMAMOTO rests on logic and is a fine thing."

Then I told Prince SAIONJI what Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs SHIGEMITSU had said: "When you go to Prince SAIONJI's place this time and tell him about the change in ministers Since Viscount KANAKO and the new Foreign Minister are from the same prefecture I want him to be unconcerned even if he receives suggestions from the Privy Council." SHIGEMITSU had also said: "He (Foreign Minister) is near to the rightists. If Prince SAIONJI would caution him well on this point, it would be very helpful." However, Prince SAIONJI didn't say anything in particular when I told him this.

I returned in the evening of the 16th. That night I invited TOKUGAWA, Iemasa and SHIBAYAMA to Kuwana Restaurant. SHIBAYAMA is, at present, at the Yokosuka Naval Station and knows the situation at Yokosuka very well. I asked him about various matters. SHIBAYAMA said: "It is different from what the public is saying."

When KIDO and GOTO, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, met YOKOYAMA, Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, at golf the Governor was perturbed. He said: "If the Yokosuka Incident gets bigger, we must request the mobilization of the 1st Division. Of course, the

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mobilization of the 1st Division is a big worry."

He was very worried as if something of grave importance were going to break out. The police power of Kanagawa Prefecture is especially weak. I had heard something like that, but it was so different from SHIBAYAMA's story. Probably the Chief of Prefectural Police had been frightened by the various rumors. I was worried because the affair was made to appear larger than it really was.

In the morning of the 18th I made a courtesy call on Foreign Minister UCHIDA. I relayed to him the message from Prince SAIONJI: "Please rest quietly . . . ;" also: "There is no need to hurry to call on me. I ask that you come after you have rested well."

Then, early in the morning, I met HIROTA, the new Foreign Minister. I told him all that I knew about the circumstances up to recent times of the relationship of the Foreign Ministry to each succeeding Cabinet from the TANAKA Cabinet to the INUKAI Cabinet, and also the relationship of the Privy Council to these Cabinets.

At noon I had lunch with KONOYE and KIDO at the Tokyo Club. By chance, SHIRATORI was there also. His ship had broken down and had come back after putting to sea. We all conversed together. We talked about the general atmosphere and the public trial of the Navy. It was very pleasant.

The Navy Minister had met Commander-in-Chief NOMURA from time to time. I met the Navy Minister and asked him many questions. There was no basis for what YOKOYAMA, Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, was worried about. The

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Vice-Minister asked: "Isn't the character of the Chief of the Kanagawa Prefectural Police like that?" and wondered about it.

I questioned the Chief of the General Staff. He had never said that there was anything so terribly dangerous at the present time. However, he said: "He (YOKOYAMA) probably heard various things from here and there, had taken them in, and was worrying about them."

On the night of the 18th, I talked for about two hours about various matters with Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO in the office of the Director in the Young Men's Association Building (at Aoyama). He indicated by his serious face a decision that something must be done soon (regarding the trouble between the Army and Navy).

On the 21st, I met the Prime Minister. He said: "Before we start on the budget, I would like to assemble the Army and Navy Ministers, the Foreign Minister, and the Finance Minister and talk things over with them. We could start on the conference to draw up the budget after some conclusions have been reached. If anything occurs as a result of the court martial, we will have to dispose of it at that time. In the first place, the origin of this confusion comes from the atmosphere created by the antipathy of Admiral Kanji KATO at the Washington Conference against Admiral Tomosaburo KATO. The upshot was that the selection of persons for Chief of the Naval General Staff and Navy Minister at that time was extremely bad. If someone like Admiral IDA

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had been appointed Navy Minister a thing like this might not have happened. In any event, I think that we must get evidence and proceed by distinguishing that which is bad from that which is good."

The final court decision of the Army (September 20) was four years' imprisonment, after the judge's address, although the prosecution had demanded an eight-year imprisonment. Since 150 days already have been accumulated, only three and a half years remain. It is a very light sentence. It is really a ridiculous situation. The intelligent public feels quite dissatisfied with the attitude of the Army. They are worried that the Navy's final decision may also, in consequence, be very light.

Regarding the amendment to the regulations of the Naval General Staff, TERASHIMA, Chief of the Naval General Staff, had previously talked about it. The matter seems about ready to be finally presented to the Emperor for sanction. It is said that there might be an Imperial Sanction around the 24th or 25th. There are those who say that the Imperial Sanction might be given without making the substance too extreme.

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Chapter 99
(2 October 1933)

Ronin And Their Allies

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

In the afternoon of the 25th, I (HARADA) met the Minister of Justice. He said: "The movement to mitigate the sentences is very active. It is very unsatisfactory if we are to be greatly influenced by such a movement. In the instance of the civil trial, OKAWA will probably attack the existing political parties and the Zaibatsu. TACHIBANA will probably make agitative statements which will incite an agricultural movement. Therefore, I would like the civil trial to end as soon as possible. Not only that, I would like to hasten the final decision so that it will not be too close to the opening of the Diet.

"I also think that there is a rather deep connection between NAITO, executive of Matsuya, and the Shimpêitai Incident. That is to say, it arises in connection with funds. As we have investigated, it has become clear, little by little, that various matters will be exposed. Therefore, I intend to go into it thoroughly."

Then, on the afternoon of the 26th, I met the Prime Minister. He said: "The reason that they say they want the amendment to the regulations of the Naval General Staff to be rather moderate is that unless the opinions of the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Navy Minister agree on all matters, in the case of treaties, etc.... That is to say, they want to continue the custom of maintaining unanimity of opinion between the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Navy Minister regarding relations with foreign nations. According to

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the Navy Minister's explanation, I do not think it is very serious. In any case, there is a need to eliminate the apprehension in the minds of the people. Therefore, I am thinking of assembling the ministers of the four ministries (War, Navy, Foreign Affairs, and Finance) and having a leisurely talk with them. I want a general plan set up as soon as possible in connection with education on the one hand and finance on the other."

Regarding amendment of the regulations of the Naval General Staff, it is designed, as the Premier said, to establish the powers of the Supreme Command. The Navy seems to welcome it.

After I had met the Prime Minister, I also met Rear Admiral TSUDA, Shizue, Chief of the Third Section of the Naval General Staff. Rear Admiral TSUDA was also pleased and said: "We can for the first time proceed as a 'United Front' when the amendment to these regulations is made."

Early in the morning of the 27th before I left for Okitsu, I visited the Minister of Justice. He said: "Before YASUDA was arrested, NAKAJIMA, Kyuho, surrendered himself. YASUDA and NAKAJIMA are, after all, connected with FUJITA, Isamu. When KARAKHAN of Russia came, Count GOTO Shimpei and also a group in the Army used FUJITA, Isamu. Even Count OGASAWARA had intimate connections with him. He is like the leader of the so-called ronin (racketeers). He passes in society as if he had a comparatively close relationship with the affairs of state. Just when NAITO of Matsuya was in financial difficulties and needed some money, FUJITA, Isamu, came to NAITO. He told him: 'An incident will

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start soon so sell your stocks now.' He urged NAITO to sell the stocks he had and thus to make a profit of ¥100,000. However, NAITO is a subtle character. He said: 'It was because of you that I made this profit, so I shall give it to you.' He gave FUJITA the whole ¥100,000.

"It seems that the fact that NAITO gave the money to FUJITA became known immediately to SUZUKI, Zenichi, and MAEDA who are in the same category of ronin. They approached IWAMURA, secretary to NAITO. SUZUKI and FUJITA often met at a rendezvous (Machiai) called the Hatsuo-zaka. Once by chance YASUDA was there also. Since YASUDA spoke arrogantly about different matters as if he knew a lot, IWAMURA was very skeptical as to what sort of person YASUDA was. However, on the way home, he took YASUDA to his home. He (IWAMURA) saw YASUDA return through the gate of Prince HIGASHIKUNI's home. Therefore, he (IWAMURA) thought that what he (YASUDA) had been saying was not false, and began to place great trust in YASUDA.

"YASUDA and IWATA, also in this Incident, were meeting at the rendezvous (Machiai) at Otsuka carrying out various matters when the Shimpei-tai Incident finally exploded. IWATA and TASAKI, involved in this Incident, had to run away. They got ¥300 from YASUDA for their travel expenses to get away. Because of this fact, the Public Procurator's Office finally decided to arrest YASUDA."

I explained fully to the Minister of Justice that Prince SAIONJI had no direct connections with persons like NAKAJIMA, Kyubo, and that I myself did not know them very well. The Minister of Justice also stated:

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"At the Cabinet Conference on the 26th, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI said: 'It is unsatisfactory unless we do something about the apprehension in the minds of the people! Minister of Agriculture and Forestry GOTO and Minister of Education HATOYAMA said admiringly: 'The recent book of TAKEGOSHI, Shimpuri no Nihon (Japan in a Whirlwind), is very well written.' To this, the War Minister complained: 'It is very unsatisfactory for someone in his position to write such a book.' Then Minister of Finance TAKAHASHI rebuked the War Minister: 'Instead of saying that, why not take it as an object lesson?'

"Then as if in monologue to me, the War Minister said: 'The budget of the Army must be passed. If the budget does not go through, you might as well revoke the whole thing.' He has become highly nervous." He (Minister of Justice) told me (HARADA) this secretly as having taken place in the conversation after the Cabinet Conference.

The Minister of Justice further stated: "At the time that the prosecution argument of Procurator YAMAMOTO concerning the May 15th Incident came out, the newspapers praised it highly. The Nichi-Nichi wrote that: 'It should be made into a textbook.' After that, the young officers of the Navy started various activities in criticism of it. Then the tenor of the press changed completely. Instead they wrote very unfavorably about Procurator YAMAMOTO. Procurator YAMAMOTO, his face pale, listened to the discussion of the young officers, that is to say, the defendants. According to what I hear privately, it is a fact that the Imperial Reservists have influenced the newspapers by letters."

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At 8 A.M. in the morning of the 26th, I had the Foreign Minister come to my place. KONOYE, KIDO, OKABE, KUROKI, ODA, SASAKI, IWAJURA, and others listened to the general aspirations of the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister said: "For the next five or six years, we must not do anything that will give rise to trouble with foreign nations. First of all, there is a need to improve even a little our relations with China. I have sent a wire to Minister CHIANG saying: 'Return to your post soon,' and urged his return. However, if we meet, Minister CHIANG is sure to bring up a problem. I think that problem will be that of extraterritoriality. I think that it will be advantageous to solve this problem soon. I intend to receive him by making the first move." He also talked about the Russian problem and the American problem, and expressed a staunch opinion regarding them.

I reached Prince SAIONJI's place at noon on the 27th. I returned the next day after making a full report.

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Chapter 100
(9 October 1933)

New Naval Regulations

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde S. Takechi

The Prince said: "Concerning Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO, various rumors are circulating regarding his actions, but I told KIDO: 'I think that these rumors all are false. However, MAKINO should be especially careful of his conduct so as not to be suspected.'"

On October 3rd, when I interviewed Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, he said: "In view of international relations, considerable armament is necessary. But armament is for national defense, so we must first make an estimate of the international situation. After making this estimate, and in connection with it, we must consider the problem of national defense." He added: "The War and Navy Ministers, Foreign Minister and myself had a discussion of the Prime Minister's conduct of affairs, and each individual freely expressed his opinions."

According to Finance Minister TAKAHASHI: "There is still a possibility of reaching an agreement with the War Minister's opinions, but the Navy Minister is very firm and uncompromising. I am embarrassed by the latter's attitude."

On the 4th, I met the Prime Minister. Upon my asking his opinions he replied: "My intentions are to take up matters gradually so as to find points of agreement." Later, when I met Foreign Minister HIROTA, he stated: "I desire to hear the opinions of the Army and Navy from an official standpoint through the War

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and Navy Ministers. We will first have to consider in advance the Japan-U. S. relations in 1936. Both the Army and the Navy authorities, especially those of the Navy, fear that the circumstances will inevitably reach their worst in 1936. Such being the case, our present task is to determine how to avoid this crisis. There is no alternative but to meet this problem by diplomacy. Constantly pondering over the problem of what should be done first to ease the uneasiness of the nation, the War Minister is taking an accomodating attitude. My opinion is that since we feel, as the result of the Manchurian affair, the effects of international reactions, it is necessary to conduct our response to those effects peacefully. First of all we must improve public opinion so as to deal with the Japanese-American problem peacefully. We must set up a basis for this atmosphere. By hearing both Ministers; (War and Navy) intentions, and also by speaking to the Finance Minister, I want to exert my efforts to get an agreement between us on this problem. The views of the Finance Minister and myself are in complete agreement."

Later, when I interviewed the Minister of Justice, his story was: "The rightist parties and groups are again spreading their plans of action as rumors and the contents of these rumors is that next time we will not take terroristic action but will kidnap the Cabinet ministers and senior statesmen and we will compell them to proclaim martial law. Meanwhile we will get various means to carry on this process further." He also made various comments on the Shinpei-Tai

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(Terrorist party). He also stated that the Shimpei-Tai has some connection with the Kokuhonsha. He said: "We are going to take action for a thorough clean-up of terrorist parties, not only in the Osaka area but throughout the country."

That afternoon I called on the Grand Chamberlain. I also met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Imperial Household Minister and discussed various matters. The Grand Chamberlain, after making several remarks on the revision of the Naval General Staff Regulations, said: "The Emperor made an inquiry of Chief of the Naval General Staff Prince FUSHIMI, as follows: 'It is very regrettable that the Chief of the Naval General Staff issued orders without conferring with the Government authorities who have charge of finance and foreign policy, thereby preventing the Government and the responsible ministers in question from cooperating with the Naval General Staff, and from carrying out their responsibilities. What are the plans for removing this bad condition?' In order to improve administration, Imperial Sanction has been asked regarding the existing private understanding for consultation between the Naval General Staff and Government authorities; it is confirmed that the Chief of Naval General Staff can do nothing without approval of the minister involved." Therefore, I think that the crisis accompanying the revision of the Naval General Staff Regulations has been averted.

On October 5th, I went to Okitsu and outlined the various developments to the Prince. The Prince warned: "The newspapers state that Government authorities are planning to discontinue the bonuses of Government

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officials, both civil and military, or that the Government intends to decrease allowances. However, prior to the London Treaty, the HAMAGUCHI Cabinet greatly damaged public morale by lowering wages. Because such unfavorable results might occur when dealing with the problems of Government officials generally, that is, of both military and civil officials, it is necessary at this time to take sufficient precaution. That is, the Government must assume a cautious attitude.

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Chapter 101
(14 October 1933)

Diplomacy As "Defense"

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde S. Takechi

I went to the Foreign Ministry after returning from Okitsu. Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU, with a very grave look, stated: "The Army seems determined to attack Russia in 1935, and the Navy the United States in 1936." I asked him: "Aren't you over-worrying yourself?" But he seems to feel this atmosphere intensely because of many developments, for example the interference of the Army just as the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway was about completed.

When I met MATSUOKA, Yosuke at the office of the Treaty Bureau Chief, he talked like the others on the subject of the various possibilities for the future. In short, it was revealed that MATSUOKA's intentions are to avail himself of an opportunity to leave the Seiyukai. I asked him: "Is it true, as rumored, that you are planning to organize a party?" His reply was: "First of all I haven't the funds. In fact, matters are not as simple as the rumor suggests." MATSUOKA had sympathetic feelings toward the Navy rather than toward the Army. As MATSUOKA and Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU have a common native place, they are well acquainted. After MATSUOKA left, Chief of the Treaty Bureau KURIYAMA said: "It has been decided that SATO, Naotake will succeed Ambassador NAGAOKA as Ambassador to France, and that ARITA will be the new Ambassador to Belgium. Please keep in mind that this is still confidential."

On the 11th I met the Prime Minister and conveyed to him the Prince's (SAIONJI) statement: "The wage-

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reduction policy of the HAMAGUCHI Cabinet had great effects over a wide area. Of course it was unlike the London Treaty in its effects but the fact that it had had great effects cannot be argued. At present it is better not to raise even slightly the problems involved in decreasing the incomes of Government officials (including military personnel). Even if the Government should save the small sum of seven to ten million yen by decreasing wages, past experience proves that it will sustain great loss, and that it will be utterly impossible to redeem this loss with money. We have to consider these points seriously." Furthermore: "If the foregoing advice can be understood to be given by the Prime Minister in good faith, I (HARADA) was told to convey this to you (Prime Minister)." The Premier, clearly understanding the Prince's point, said: "Naturally I have no intention to reduce wages. I am concerned only that compensation to committee members and various bonuses have been paid as working expenses; members have been receiving compensation while actually not present in committee. My intentions are only to rectify such injustices." At this opportunity I spoke to him in regard to my meeting with MATSUOKA. He said: "Two or three days ago MATSUOKA called on me and spoke for about two hours. His remarks were rambling, and it occurred to me that his intentions were to leave the Seiyukai at the first opportunity. I gave him a non-committal answer and we parted."

That afternoon, upon interviewing the Finance Minister, he stated: "At the five-minister conference it was revealed that, according to their respective plans,

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the Army would attack Russia and the Navy the United States, hoping meanwhile to keep the good will of other nations. It seemed to me that they adhered to their respective standpoints, so I warned both Ministers, saying: 'In constructing national defense plans if the Army and Navy does not cooperate efforts will be in vain.' As the Treaty revision year, 1936, is approaching, according to the plans of the Army and Navy for cooperative action in constructing national defense, we must complete the national defense plans before that period. In other words, although we intend to settle international affairs by diplomacy, since it may fail or the situation become serious, we must complete defensive preparations, lest we should be paralyzed or be underrated by foreign countries. In this sense, these plans are to perfect military preparations, and by no means, to start an aggressive war. I think that the previous conference tentatively agreed upon a national defense system designed for defensive purposes only. Recently I told the War and Navy Ministers that: 'It is characteristic of military minds that a thing has to be either right or left; they run to extremes; they never consider the middle way. At present, even if we are to settle the problem by diplomacy, I think that it is necessary to consider both armament and diplomacy.'"

I left after he made the following statement: "I do not know how the situation may turn out but I am carrying on with the hope that they may gradually come to understand my views."

On my way home I dropped in on the Foreign Minister and inquired into the proceedings of the five-minister

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conference. He said: "Matters may become gradually clear. However, I am constantly trying to work out a smooth relationship between diplomacy and national defense. In consequence of this, the war expenditure budget problem will become urgent. Then I intend to clarify my position standing between as a third party. That is: 'We will expand out utmost by foreign policy, and when foreign policy arrives at its limits, we will leave the matter to you (Army and Navy) for your disposal.'"

That evening newspaper reporters came and said:

"In the near future WAKATSUKI is going to express his views in regard to the London Treaty." They explained that, "He (WAKATSUKI) is going to refute the speech (recently) made by SUZUKI, Kisaburo, the president (of Seiyukai). Concerned over this, I phoned KAWASAKI, Takukichi early next morning and told him: "WAKATSUKI is going to speak on the London Treaty, but to speak on this subject at present will only complicate matters. In this present atmosphere his speech will be ineffective. Moreover, it will be a great hindrance when the Government is especially trying to conduct affairs peacefully without inciting the Army and Navy." KAWASAKI, Takukichi replied: "If it is concerned with the London Treaty, I doubt that it will be much of a hindrance, because it does not concern the prerogative of Supreme Command." To this I replied: "Whenever the problem of the London Treaty and the Emperor's prerogative as Supreme Commander arose, the public used to confuse the London Treaty with the prerogative of Supreme Command. At present public opinion cannot discriminate

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between the London Treaty and the prerogative of Supreme Command. WAKATSUKI should postpone his speech. Recently after President SUZUKI's speech, I criticized Minister of Education HATOYAMA: "The Seiyukai is surely taking a stupid action by this (SUZUKI's speech)." HATOYAMA seemed to agree with me. Also when UCHIDA, Shinya called on me, I warned him: "Never say a word about the London Treaty." For this reason when delivering his speech at the Tokyo Kaikan, without speaking of the past nor referring to the London Treaty, he delivered his speech as follows: 'The Minseito and the Seiyukai must co-operate in facing this situation.' At present if WAKATSUKI revives the old issue he will cause serious ill-feeling.'" KAWASAKI replied: "Thank you, I will think this matter over."

Later I called on the Premier saying to him: "This morning I spoke to KAWASAKI, Takukichi warning him: 'It will be inadvisable for WAKATSUKI to refer to the London Treaty in his speech. He will complicate matters for the Government.' KAWASAKI replied: 'Why will it cause trouble to the Government?' Expressing my opinion, I asked the Premier for his opinion. The Premier completely agreed with me."

I dropped in on the Chief Secretary and also spoke to him on the aforementioned matters. It was decided that the Chief Secretary would warn KAWASAKI of the Minseito: 'Not to say a y thoughtless thing.'

On the 12th I had planned to call on the Prince, but in the morning edition, I read an article stating that Prince KONOYE had met the War Minister. Thinking it better to speak to KONOYE before leaving for Okitsu, I called

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him over the phone. His reply was: "Please come over immediately."

I immediately called on him that morning.

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Chapter 102
(15 October 1933)

Araki's Amnesty

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde S. Takechi

When I (HARADA) met KONOYE he said: "Do not mention this matter to anyone. It will be very annoying if it is revealed that this story originated with me. Although the War Minister stated at one juncture that: 'This is absolutely confidential,' I have already referred this matter to the Prime Minister." He (War Minister) said: "In order to eradicate the present general feeling of unrest, we must take drastic action. Persons who were convicted because of the May 15th Incident or the Ketsumeidan rightist case, also persons convicted of leftist communistic movements and persons who are in question today; in other words, not considering whether they are leftist or rightist, persons who were tried by law or persons who are being tried should be granted amnesty or general pardon according to the Emperor's discretion. They should be acquitted of all charges, allowed to resume political activities anew; for this we should seek an Imperial Edict. Thus, those who were charged or those who will be charged will become inspired by the Emperor's grace and, with all Japanese nationals cooperating under a new atmosphere, will start entirely anew. By carrying this out the general restlessness will be eradicated. With this as an assumption, let us construct a policy to cope with emergencies such as politics, diplomacy and national defence." He (War Minister) asked me: 'What is your opinion of this plan?' or, 'Please consider this matter.' I did not

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answer him but departed saying: 'I will think this matter over.'" Prince KONOYE further stated: "It appeared as though he was driving at his point very strongly. His attitude was such as to suggest that if he could not carry out his plans he would resign." Prince KONOYE with an astonished look said: "I cannot quote the exact words of the War Minister, but the gist of the story is as I have just outlined it to you. As for myself, I left because I could not make any further comment on the matter."

Thinking of this as a very foolish idea and having no time to spare, I caught the nine o'clock train to Okitsu after leaving Prince KONOYE. Meeting Prince SAIONJI, I reported on the latest happenings. After I had given him the full particulars of the War Minister's statement to KONOYE, he said: "Why, that would be comparable to revolution. Why didn't KONOYE frankly say: 'That's practically impossible.'" The Prince continued: "It is a very regrettable matter. If such an attitude is actually taken towards the Emperor, I greatly sympathize with the Emperor. If the War Minister adheres to his forceful attitude, the Cabinet may, in desperation, comply with his plans, but it would make matters worse." He (SAIONJI) requested: "On returning to Tokyo, not mentioning this as coming from Prince KONOYE, I think that it would be well if you also inform the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain of the War Minister's intentions." At the same time he said: "The following matter may be a large order but while I live, if there is any work in which I may be of service to the Emperor and

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my country, inform me of the ways and means of accomplishing such service. For instance, if such and such a thing can be accomplished by such and such means, inform me. Also tell KIDO to consider my statement. At any rate, if I can fulfil my duties as a senior statesman under any circumstances and be of service to the Emperor or to my country, do not hesitate to bring the matter to me. Take SAITO for instance; if he places reliance upon me and feels reassured because Prince SAIONJI is still alive and fulfilling his duties as a senior statesman, in a sense, even in this respect I am fulfilling a certain duty. Furthermore, if there is any purpose that I may be capable of accomplishing in the future, such as the recommendation of a person to succeed to a certain position or of the position to which a person may be recommended, I shall be glad to serve the Emperor and my country to the fullest extent. Please consider this matter together with KIDO."

Returning to Tokyo the same day, I sent for KIDO late that evening and gave him the full particulars of what the Prince had said. KIDO, sharing my opinion, said: "If the intentions of the War Minister are carried out, it will not improve the situation; it will only increase the uneasy feeling instead of decreasing it. It is out of the question." I also informed him that the Prince had said he would desire to be consulted on various matters. Anyway I thought it necessary that KIDO immediately call on the Prince and hear his opinions in detail. Concerning the Prince's request: "Think this over", to KIDO and myself, I thought it

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necessary to confer with Prince KONOYE also on this matter. KIDO agreed to go to Okitsu immediately after speaking to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain. KIDO decided to go to Okitsu on the 14th. Inquiring upon the convenience of the Prince, he replied: "Why certainly," so KIDO left on the 14th. That evening I sent for Marquis INOUE. I had Marquis INOUE casually inquire into the War Minister's attitude through Lt. Col. SUZUKI. Marquis INOUE was also greatly surprised, this being a revelation to him.

I was invited to Prince KONOYE's home on the evening of the 15th. Previously, I had made an appointment with Admiral NOMURA to have dinner with him at the New Grand in Yokohama. I had INOUE call on SUZUKI in the morning and I was to call on SUZUKI as if by accident later. I told SUZUKI: "I am going to call on Prince KONOYE tonight. Do you have any question on recent developments." He spoke of an affair that was in dispute, the incident of the secret documents stolen by the Russians, that is, the telegram of September 4th from TANI (Ambassador Plenipotentiary), and the telegram to Manchukuo from Vice-Chief OHASHI, which were seized by the Russians. To say that they have stolen was a grave matter, so with considerable indignation, each newspaper was informed that the secret documents had been located. SUZUKI inquired whether the Foreign Ministry had heard about this incident. I replied: "We know nothing of that matter." Although SUZUKI's impression of the Foreign Minister was worse than expected, SUZUKI strongly urged: "It

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is absolutely certain that military personnel will not intrude into politics or take over the supreme command. For this reason if the Government will immediately set a policy and create a new atmosphere, the Army will withdraw."

At 12:30 I met Admiral NOMURA at the New Grand and we talked for about three hours. Admiral NOMURA said: "Contrary to public opinion or what is appearing in the newspapers about the Navy, it is comparatively tranquil at Yokosuka. A certain ASADA called on President WAKATSUKI; they happen to come from the same prefecture. It was a very moderate interview and developed nothing of importance." He further stated: "At any rate, the strong feeling of SATO, Kanji's party, that is, the party supporting Admiral SUETSUGU, has to a certain extent taken hold of the feelings of the young officers. However, in general, there isn't much to worry about in the Navy. I have a feeling that there may be a social change throughout Japan in about five or six years, but I am not quite certain on this matter either. I gave him a complete outline of what I think is necessary concerning the present relations of the Navy, the Government and the Imperial Household.

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Chapter 103
(24 October 1933)

Desire for Naval Equality

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde S. Takechi

That evening I (HARADA) was invited to a Chinese dinner with Marquis HOSOKAWA, KIDO, OKABE and SASAKI at Prince KONOYE's new home in Kamakura. At that time nothing important was discussed. We left after chatting late into the night. Later, on meeting Lt. Col. SUZUKI, he said: "NAGANO, Seigo came to me and stated: 'I am planning to amalgamate all the labor organizations into one group in order to carry out my plans.' He continued: 'I intend to recommend HIRANUMA; after all HIRANUMA is most suited to take charge of the next political situation.' I left after listening to his plans."

On the 19th I met Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU at the Foreign Ministry. Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU seems to take a pessimistic view of the whole situation. He made various statements concerning the Russian problem, our China policy, general disarmament, Japanese-American problems and the League. He said: "The Navy is demanding equality in (naval) armaments; it is stressing the fact that should its demand (for equality) be denied (by America and Great Britain), it will abrogate the Naval Disarmament Treaty. In other words, the Navy is demanding equality (of naval armaments) in the sense of reserving the right to maintain a basic minimum of (naval) armaments absolutely necessary for national defense. The Navy is stating that it wouldn't mind abrogating (the Naval Disarmament Treaty) in the

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sense that it feels the word abrogate could be replaced by the expression: 'The Navy is prepared for severance of diplomatic relations (with America and Great Britain, should its demand be denied by them).'

The plans that were submitted to the five ministers' conference by the Foreign Minister were made in order to have the Army become aware of things. The Army shows indication of supporting the plans, but desires to take action after preparations for the budget are completed. It is a fact that the Russians are sending troops to the Far East today, but it appears that the Russians are being instigated by the Americans. I hoped for an early settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway affair. However, this too, because of the secret documents issue, has been delayed. We face a great catastrophe. At the time of revision of the London Treaty in 1936, the Americans intend to expose the political situation. There are signs of America and Russia getting together. That is, they may act against us in unison both peaceably and militarily."

Later I met Chief of the Treaty Bureau KURIYAMA and he stated: "In actuality, the demand of the Navy for equal rights does not amount to a claim for parity, but the German plea for armament autonomy has been mistaken for a claim to parity. The Navy desires to preserve simultaneously the expressions: 'Severance of diplomatic relations with nations concerned;' 'Avoid treaties which jeopardize our national defence;' and 'Shun the maintenance of articles disadvantageous solely to Japan when the existing treaty expires.' For this reason as mentioned previously, 'Severance of diplomatic

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relations with nations concerned' is also inevitable.

The right of equality demanded by the Navy today is absolutely different from what the Americans and British mean by 'parity'." These explanations were made in detail to the naval authorities by the Chief of the Treaty Bureau.

The plans that were submitted to the five ministers' conference by the Foreign Minister, except for the matter involving the Asia Bureau, were accepted amicably. However, the Russo-Japanese problem and the questions affecting the Navy were faced with considerable difficulties. The reason for this is that when negotiations with the War and Navy Ministries were most difficult the new bureau director, TOGO, KURUSU, Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU, and Chief of the Treaty Bureau KURIYAMA were in foreign countries, unfamiliar with the actual situation. Thinking that the spirit of insubordination had even infiltrated the Foreign Office, and with a desire to settle the chaotic situation (prevailing in the Foreign Office), they decided all matters at the bureau chiefs' conference, without hearing fully the opinions of section heads. Therefore, because of inadequate contact with their subordinates, the Minister proposed plans containing contradictions with those of the military authorities.

Chief of the 1st section MORISHIMA of the Asia Bureau came over to me and as a matter of reference, I listened to his various points on the problems. I also intended to advise ARITA so I had dinner with him on the 19th. I also called MORISHIMA. I naturally intended to advise the Prime Minister and the Vice-Minister, but also requested ARITA to speak to them on

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this matter. On the noon of the 20th, I invited KURIYAMA to my home, giving him full particulars. The reason for the understanding between the Foreign Office and the Army and Navy is that the section heads directly undertook the actual work. Because of this mutual cooperation, a good foundation was laid upon which the Treaty Bureau personnel were to draw plans, and the completed plans were passed without any difficulty. At any rate, before the Foreign Minister's policy was completed and ready to be submitted to the five ministers' conference, he was able to re-negotiate with the War and Navy Ministers and substantial progress was made.

The general outline of the five ministers' conference held on October 25th was given to me in strict secrecy by the Prime Minister. I was requested to transmit the following to the Prince (SAIONJI):

1. Concerning international relations, measures are to be taken for the consummation of our plans peacefully and by diplomatic means. We must endeavor as much as possible to avoid a collision.
2. Concerning national defence expenditures, they must be adjusted to our national resources, so that we may not suffer from threats of other nations nor be held in contempt by foreign countries.
3. Concerning domestic problems, with each ministry devoting its efforts toward solving difficult issues under their jurisdiction, encourage deliberations among the ministers

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concerned and plan thus for national stability and prepare for adequate national defence.

The Premier said: "Furthermore, I am to confer with the competent ministers concerning domestic affairs after the Grand Maneuvers."

When I called at the official residence of the Prime Minister, the War Minister had remained behind and was conversing with the Cabinet Secretary as expected. On my way home, I dropped in on the Finance Minister. He said: "Well, somehow, the matters in question were settled. Today I criticized the Cabinet concerning the rice issue, but MITSUCHI was in favor of GOTO's plans. MITSUCHI strongly emphasized: 'The decision to purchase at the minimum price and to sell at the maximum price is in short like satisfying the speculators; wouldn't it be better to take into consideration the market price at that time?' However, as I have just said, MITSUCHI is in favor of GOTO's plans and laughed over it.

On my way home I dropped in at the Foreign Office. I met the Foreign Minister (HIROTA) and he said: "I desire to conduct matters so as not to arouse diplomatic difficulties. I wonder if the time isn't coming when America will recognize Russia and, accompanied by China, will subject Japan to an ordeal just as they did at the Washington conference. In order that such a situation will never develop, in other words, so that Japan will not be confronted with such a situation, we must act now on Japan's relations with America, China and also Russia. In order to bring the Manchurian problem to a solution, Russia must be handled harmoniously and

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cations. He emphasized preparations for diplomatic undertakings and armament construction. The result at that Cabinet conference was to recognize the outcome of the five ministers' conference. First of all world peace is the basic objective of international relations. This objective should be sought by means of diplomatic policies. Secondly, concerning national defence measures, they must be adjusted to our national resources, so that we may not suffer from threats of other nations and be held in contempt by foreign countries. The members made a mental note of the two aforementioned matters and the meeting was adjourned. Commencement of the Grand Maneuvers was scheduled for the 22nd, and each Cabinet minister left to attend the Maneuvers. At this opportunity it was said that: 'The Cabinet conference shall be temporarily suspended from the 22nd to the 29th.'

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 104
(1 November 1933)

Fushimi's Arrogance

Translated by S/Sgt Clyde S. Takechi

During the Grand Maneuvers no serious incident occurred, but the newspapers publicized the close company kept at the scene of the maneuvers by the War Minister and Admiral KATO (opposer of the London Treaty). On the return train, the War Minister spoke on plans for world peace and the necessity for independent advocacy. He said: "The years 1935 and 1936 will be not only a crucial period for Japan but also for the Orient and the entire world. In order to over-ride this national crisis, we must have national unity, exalting the spirit of nationalism. As for world affairs, the various international treaties have reached a point where thorough adjustment is necessary. Therefore, to bring this about, Japan must, of her own accord, conceive an international policy which will establish world peace." He had already unofficially revealed the contents of his plans to other Cabinet Ministers. However, the newspapers are stirring up public excitement by vigorously publicizing that the War Minister, on returning to Tokyo, had conferred with Admiral OSUMI, and it seems that he intends to make an official statement on the aforementioned plans at a suitable opportunity.

Plans are being drawn for a coalition party from the Minseito and the Seiyukai. This is the scheme of the KUHARA faction; they plan to split off part of the Minseito by drawing ADACHI into their party. On the other hand they are trying to expand by supporting ADACHI. But none of these matters of great importance.

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The Kwantung Army is strongly insisting upon a complete reorganization of the Manchurian Railways. Although the Vice-President is a sensible person, he seems to be manipulated by the young military officers, and the Manchurian Railways officials appear to be very discontented. As for the Overseas Affairs Ministry, it cannot reorganize the Manchurian Railways according to the desires of the Kwantung Army, as it is in complete opposition to them. However, according to the papers, the War Minister appears to be supporting the Kwantung Army; it is not clear as yet how the situation may turn out.

Before leaving for Okitsu on the 30th, I (HARADA) spoke to the Prime Minister over the phone after his return from the Grand Maneuvers. He said: "There are no particular changes. I intend to confer on various matters with the Prince and others. As for myself I am well." He did not go into anything definite in our conversation.

On the afternoon of the 30th, I went to Okitsu. I had a lengthy conversation with the Prince for the first time in a long while on matters I did not mention at our previous meeting. During this conversation I conveyed to the Prince the statements made by Chief of the Labor Bureau AKIYOSU, and the Head of the Social Welfare Bureau, when KIDO and I visited Prince KONOYE. Their statements were: "We lack attention to social welfare problems," or: "The Government must work out some means," and, at the same time, "There is considerable truth in the statements of the young Army officers." To this I replied: "Although we may discover a point of agreement, we must study the times and the persons we are collaborating

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with them. Today when the military authorities are doing as they please by encroaching even into the affairs of executive officials, the civil officials are not making any effort to reproach them. Not in a sense of plotting or scheming, you must inform the young officers of their misdoings and lead them back to their duties as soldiers. It is most important that you take a firm stand and by clarifying your own points of views, you must not be swayed by them. Your actions are very weak-hearted. Instead of seeking attention from the elder statesmen or the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, inspire your own ministers and cope with the present situation appropriately. That is, make the first move before the military. In fact you make no criticism of their actions. Civil officials should cooperate a bit more and seriously take proper actions."

Furthermore, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, Prince FUSHIMI, desires the personal resignation of those who had any connections with the London Treaty, or persons in the Navy Ministry who criticized the Revision of the Naval General Staff Regulations, especially those in the lower grades. Instead of being transferred, they are ordered to serve in the Naval General Staff. Existing circumstances forced one personally to resign his post. I have directly heard through Admiral KOBAYASHI that: "Captain INOUE, Chief of the 1st Section of the Naval Affairs Bureau was forced to resign. Also that Admiral HORI, Teichi and, Needless to mention, Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau TERAJIMA will be forced out. The reason for the resignation of Captain INOUE is that when the plans for the revision of the Naval General Staff Regulations were submitted to the Navy Ministry,

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they were held up at the Naval Affairs Bureau. Then the Prince complained: 'They are very slow, where are they held up?' the reply was, 'They are still in the hands of the first section of the Navy General Affairs Bureau.' The Prince immediately ordered: 'Relieve the Chief of the first section of his position.' The Navy Minister does not defy the pressure from the Naval General Staff. It is very regrettable that he complies with every order of the Prince. If the Navy Minister constantly complies with the orders, I am greatly concerned that it may mar the Prince's (FUSHIMI) prestige and bring calamity upon the Imperial Household." I conveyed the above statement made by Admiral KOBAYASHI to Prince SAIONJI. The Prince, greatly concerned, said: "I would like to remove His Highness from his responsible position some way or other. Do you have any suggestions?" I returned home from Okitsu and on the afternoon of the 31st, I had a lengthy talk for the first time in a long while with the Prime Minister. During the conversation, I mentioned the story about the Prince (FUSHIMI). The Prime Minister, also concerned, said that something must be done. The Prime Minister stated: "The Navy must give thoughtful consideration to the opinions of Fleet Admiral TOGO and Prince FUSHIMI." He continued: "There was no important matter at today's Cabinet conference." Speaking thus, the Prime Minister was comparatively self-possessed. However, concerning War Minister ARAKI's various opinions on foreign policy published by the newspapers, he said: "Even among the public, ARAKI's reputation is very bad." The Prime Minister seemed to be slightly worried over this matter.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 105
(7 November 1933)

Wanted: A Plan

Translated by S/Sgt. Clyde S. Takechi

Later, on the third, rumors flew to the effect that: "Once again young officers assembled at the Kaikosha last night." The rumors were so exaggerated that I called on Lt. Colonel SUZUKI after talking to him over the phone. He said: "If the Government does not draw up some plan of internal administration in order to reason the young officers into compliance, the War Minister will not be able to maintain his position." He added: "General ARAKI is not stressing foreign expansion for the purpose of overthrowing the Cabinet, and the young officers are not of that intention. At present, there are many complications within the Army. Scheming with Chief of the Intendance Bureau ONODERA, General MINAMI is resorting to petty artifices to start a movement against ARAKI. As for General HAYASHI, on the one hand he is constantly pressing ARAKI: 'If the Cabinet does not carry out the demands of the Army to construct a national reformation policy, military leaders will be unable to control their subordinates. In short, it will be impossible to suppress the young officers' resentment. Therefore, take action to construct a national reformation policy.' At the same time, he is approaching HIRANUMA and TOKONAMI for the organization of the succeeding Cabinet."

According to Lt. Colonel SUZUKI's opinion: "Under the circumstances that the War Minister resigns and General MINAMI is to be selected to succeed him, I prefer General ABE." I left after SUZUKI made the follow-

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ing statement: "The reason for the frequent meetings of the young army officers is to make diversionary movements against General MINAMI and Chief of the Intendence Bureau OMODERA, who are attempting to dislodge War Minister ARAKI. That is, their actions are to support ARAKI. It is not important, so do not concern yourself too much."

Later, on the fourth, I met the Premier, and for his information I reported SUZUKI's statements. The Premier replied that the Government must take some measures and that he has the intention to do so. The officials of the Home Ministry are urging an immediate renovation of plans. However, several days ago I questioned Director of Social Welfare TANBA on these matters. His opinion was that Home Minister YAMAMOTO has intentions to carry out plans if the Home Ministry officials will draw them up. Furthermore, the Premier repeatedly averred: "If a definite plan is drawn, my intentions are to see that the Home Minister executes this plan." I replied: "If the Government definitely decides to satisfy them by drawing several plans, as you expect, then, as I have said to you previously, the administrative officials of the Home Ministry must undertake their duties more seriously. In short, they must draw a definite plan. Therefore, I shall have an informal talk with them in the near future." To this the Premier replied: "Your views are very interesting; that is a very reasonable statement."

Later, on the evening of the fifth, I left for Okitsu. On the morning of the sixth I met the Prince and reported the various happenings. To begin with, I

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spoke about affairs within Army circles and of the future Naval shakeup. I also mentioned that when Prince HIGASHIKUNI came to the capital recently in connection with Princess ASAKA's demise, I appeared at the Imperial Palace just prior to his departure. Discussing various rumors, I talked to the Prince for approximately thirty minutes. That is, previously, when I met Prince KONOYE he said that, according to the War Minister, Prince HIGASHIKUNI, before leaving for his new post in Sendai, met the War Minister and reminded him: "Whenever you need me I shall return immediately; I am within easy reach." Prince HIGASHIKUNI stated this as if he anticipated some sort of occurrence. I learned that the War Minister misinterpreted Prince HIGASHIKUNI's remarks, and thought that the Prince had some personal scheme and transmitted this idea to Prince KONOYE. I met the Prince as I desired to have confirmation of this statement directly from the Prince. He said: "It is definitely an erroneous statement. General MAZAKI, in connection with my new post at Sendai, said to me, 'In case you have any business to attend to, Sendai is located very close by, and you can occasionally return home. Therefore, it is very convenient.' To this I (HIGASHIKUNI) replied: 'Yes, it is very convenient. Whenever I am needed I can return at a moment's notice.' I mentioned this because it is a very convenient location. In a sense, it is not as the War Minister interpreted it." The Prince said: "I was greatly misunderstood." The Prince further added: "Prior to leaving for my new post, I met the War Minister but did not make such a statement." Therefore, either General MAZAKI transmitted Prince HIGASHIKUNI's statement

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to the War Minister erroneously, or the War Minister misunderstood the Prince's statement. Anyway the matter was entirely misunderstood.

I immediately excused myself because the Prince (HIGASHIKUNI) was scheduled to leave at ten, but among the Prince's statement were these: "I was put to great trouble in the case of the Shimpeitai Incident. Although I am not involved in this case, NAKAJIMA is really an impudent fellow. I have not mentioned this to you, but NAKAJIMA frequently called on me and said: 'I called on Prince SAIONJI yesterday. Prince SAIONJI was in complete agreement with my opinions' or 'I have heard such and such a thing from Prince SAIONJI.' He frequently conveyed to me that these opinions were those of Prince SAIONJI. When I met Prince SAIONJI I inquired about this matter. However, the opinion of the Prince conveyed to me through NAKAJIMA and the opinion I heard directly from the Prince were completely different. I even suspected that SAIONJI altered his views according to the person he talked with. It struck me as very strange. So when you told me: 'NAKAJIMA has no connections whatsoever with SAIONJI, and he has not called on the Prince even once,' I did not doubt your statement, but NAKAJIMA's statements seemed so plausible, that to verify NAKAJIMA's statements, I told him: 'According to HARADA's statement you do not go to Okitsu very frequently.' NAKAJIMA replied: 'Because HARADA dislikes me he is circulating various falsehoods concerning me.' Later when you called my attention to the facts, you brought light upon this matter for the first time. For this reason I have been taking considerable precautions.

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NAKAJIMA is indeed an impudent fellow. Although YASUDA perplexed me, it was a great mistake to have permitted him to stay at my home. However, I was much indebted to him for his assistance during my stay in Paris. I could not find it in my heart to do such a thing. Although it was very perplexing, I permitted him to stay at my home after having severing ties with him." He (HIGASHIKUNI) continued: "Moreover, when he (YASUDA) came to Sendai, he dropped in for five minutes and said: 'I came to Sendai to speak to ISHIHARA concerning Manchuria,' and left. At Sendai it was rumored that: 'HARADA was arrested with NAKAJIMA.' Of course I did not believe these rumors from the beginning. So, please reassure Prince KONOYE and KIDO that I will in no way increase misunderstandings by meeting strange persons, or plan any movements when I go to Sendai. Please give my regards to Prince SAIONJI." I added this information in my report to Prince SAIONJI.

While still in Okitsu, I phoned the Foreign Office and spoke to Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU. He said that the United States is withdrawing its fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic and that the opinion of the Foreign Office is that is is an appeasement measure toward Japan. Concerning this, the Navy Ministry was issuing propaganda that: "It is not an appeasement measure toward Japan, but rather an action which reflects the complications of American relations with Japan." To this the Prince replied: "I think that both the former and the latter have missed the point. There is no reason why so great a power as America should make this move aiming only at Japan. Also it will not consider that

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Japan will be appeased because America has withdrawn her fleet from the Pacific. In short, America was compelled to act because of her relations with Europe and Britain, or by domestic considerations. Therefore, I believe that America was faced with a great problem."

The Prince was also concerned over the Chief of the Naval General Staff, Prince FUSHIMI, just as the Prime Minister was. The Prince shared the feelings of the Prime Minister.